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dealing with the fundamental conceptions of Dravidian worship, the author labors a little needlessly, it seems, to show that the sacrificial features do not have any totemic origin, but are merely propitiatory. The conclusion that *all* of the Dravidian deities are derived from ghosts seems doubtful, although it is clear that a large proportion, if not all of the lesser and more local beings, are of such an origin.

R. B. DIXON

AFRICA

Verbreitung und Formen des Totemismus in Afrika. BERNHARD ANKER-MANN. (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Vol. 47, 1915, pp. 114-180, with map.)

In this article the author of "Kulturkreise und Kulturschichten in Afrika" (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vol. 37, 1905, pp. 54 *seq.*) and of "Über den gegenwärtigen Stand der Ethnographie der Südhälfte Afrikas" (*Archiv für Anthropologie, Neue Folge*, vol. IV, pp. 241 *seq.*) summarizes most successfully all the available data on the distribution and varieties of totemism in Africa. After a passing reference to Frazer whose *Totemism and Exogamy* proved most serviceable as a collection of material, and to Goldenweiser, with the principles of whose *Totemism, an Analytical Study* Ankermann agrees, but whose definition of totemism he rejects as non-productive of further research, the author proceeds to formulate his own conception of totemism, as follows:—

Totemism is the belief that a group of blood-relatives (a clan) stands to a species of animals, plants, etc., in a specific, permanent and indissoluble relation, which is usually conceived of as blood-relationship and imposes upon both parties, certain obligations (p. 116).

It will presently be seen that this one-sided emphasis on one particular aspect of totemism as the essential one results disastrously for Ankermann's theoretical discussion of African totemism.

The distribution of totemism in Africa is indicated on the map (*q.v.*). Tables I and II (pp. 130-1) representing the totemism of twenty-six tribes bring the following results as to the kind of things that appear as totems in Africa:¹

¹ In order to obtain from the above lists the number of different plants, animals, etc., which occur as totems in the twenty-six tribes, the figures must be reduced by the number of occurrences of each variety of animal, plant, etc. These figures are also given in the author's tables. The figures as given above, however, also have their psychological significance in so far as they indicate the relative tendency of the different things to be taken as totems. A truer picture of this would result if the phenomenon of diffusion were taken into account, as well as the number of animals, plants, etc., known to the natives, which thus become available as totems.

TABLE I

451 animals
24 parts of animals
67 plants
22 celestial bodies
65 miscellaneous

The animals are distributed as follows:

TABLE II

281 mammals
71 birds
63 amphibia and reptiles
19 fishes
18 insects and
4 other animals

The totem in Africa is usually conceived as a friendly related being (p. 143), but also as something dangerous, proscribed, to be evaded, or again as introduced by a god, culture hero or ancient ruler. There seems to be no separate term for totem, instead a relationship term is used (p. 144) or a phrase implying something forbidden, proscribed. Specifically totemic rites are either absent (p. 145) or at most play but a secondary part in the complex of totemic practices and beliefs. If any attitude towards the totem is typical of Africa, it is that of taboo, the prohibition to eat or kill the sacred thing. The totem and the totemite are supposed to be mutually helpful, while the emotion aroused by the totem is either that of respectful awe or a sort of fear (p. 146). In some cases the totem is buried, invited to weddings. In a few instances the clan-mates are believed to have a magical influence over their totem. The authenticity of the few recorded instances of a sacrificial eating of the totem seems to remain doubtful. The punishment for transgression of a totemic taboo is of the so-called automatic type and the form it takes is usually that of skin-disease. There appears to be no punitive reaction on the part of the group, although the killing or expulsion of the culprit seems to have occurred in the past. Commonly, but by no means universally, the social unit derives its name from the totem (p. 155). The descent of the totemic social unit is in Africa almost throughout paternal, with a few instances where different conditions prevail, such as in the case of the Tshi and Ewe, where both the maternal and the paternal totems seem to be hereditary; the Bakongo, Bavili and Herero, where the totem is inherited through the father, although the children belong to the clan of the mother; the Atchewa and Awemba, who seem to have maternal descent of the totem.

The relation of totemism to exogamy in Africa is highly instructive (p. 161 *seq.*). Among some of the totemic tribes exogamy is not recorded, the majority of tribes, however, have as elsewhere, both totemism and exogamy. In all such instances, as the author points out, it is important to ascertain whether the totemism and the exogamy refer to the same social unit. Now, this is by no means always the case. The Nandi, for instance, are divided into totemic but non-exogamous clans which are themselves subdivided into non-totemic but exogamous families; among the Herero, Bakongo and Bavili the paternal social unit is totemic while the maternal one is exogamous; among the Wahehe several of the gentes have the same totem, they may nevertheless intermarry; among the Banyoro gentes have the same name but different totems while others have the same totem but different names, but all are strictly exogamous,

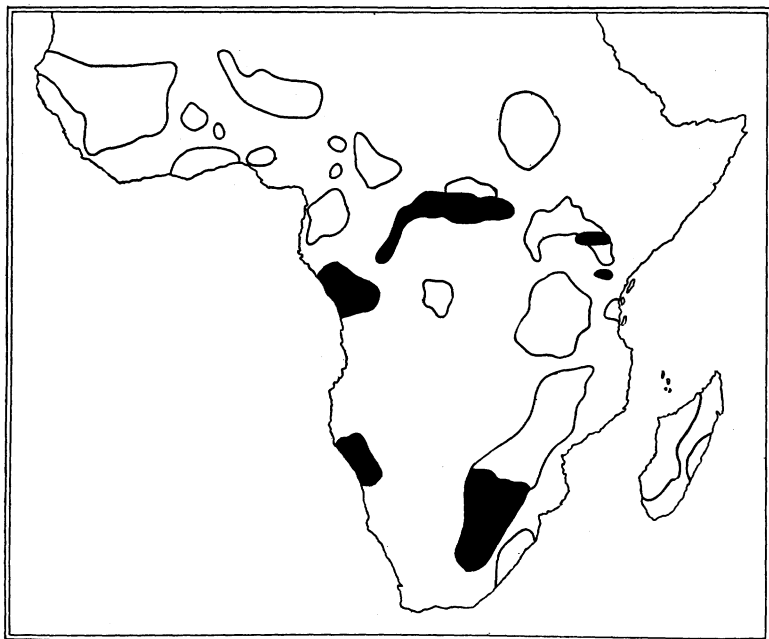


FIG. 77.—Distribution of totemism in Africa. The black areas indicate tribes where totemic and exogamous units do not coincide. (After Ankermann.)

etc. In all such instances the author does not fail to see confirmation of the opinion, now shared by Frazer, that totemism and exogamy are genetically distinct (see map, fig. 77).

Up to this point Ankermann's contribution must be recognized as

excellent and most useful. The author's attempt at a theoretical interpretation, on the other hand, seems far less successful.

The author is certainly right in pointing out that neither ancestor worship nor even animism, both highly prevalent in Africa, need be regarded as of the essence of African totemism, speaking genetically, but that these features must rather be conceived of as secondarily associated with it. The author also takes a guarded attitude with reference to the relation of totemism to the so-called "bush-souls," as well as in the question of the possible development of gods out of totems.

Admirable also is the attitude taken towards totemism as a process of socialization (p. 172). The totem, says Ankermann, is the badge of a social unit, the clan, but it has no other social significance; tribes exist which have no totemism, but whose social organization is indistinguishable from that of totemic tribes. As to the undeniable frequency of the association of totemism with exogamy, "the cause of it must be sought in the fact that both are so often and probably were from the earliest times on the marks of the same social aggregate, the kinship group."¹ In the present state of our knowledge even this statement does not seem strong enough, for in an ever growing number of instances the association of the totemic clan with exogamy proves to be more apparent than real, the exogamy of the clan being a derivative feature. Almost the whole of the Australian area and large sections of North America bring abundant confirmation of this statement.

It was noted before that the totem in Africa descends almost invariably through the father. Ankermann therefrom concludes that such is the primal form of the institution, that totemism must have originated in a paternally organized society (p. 173). Then the author proceeds:

I regard localized totemism as the original form; its breakdown seems to me to have been determined by the clash of two systems of descent, the paternal and the maternal. The latter finally was probably in all cases conditioned by the mixture of peoples and cultures (p. 173).

Through such mixtures the author also explains all instances of double descent recorded in Africa.

The next question is: What culture stratum must be regarded as the

¹ It is particularly gratifying to the present writer to note that Ankermann clearly distinguishes between the social aspect of totemism, the fact namely that it represents an instance of socialization of certain traits within the limits of definite social units, and exogamy. It will be remembered that in his original treatise Frazer regarded exogamy as the social aspect of totemism, the attitude towards the totem constituting the religious aspect. The two viewpoints are not always kept apart even at this time, and regrettable confusion results.

carrier of African totemism? (p. 174). One criterion the author believes to have found in the concept of blood-relationship with the totem. Where this is present, we are likely to be on the track of the 'totemic culture'.¹ Another criterion is sought in the association of the totem with the kinship group, the clan or gens. If this is to be regarded as a primal trait, then its presence may indicate the totemic culture. Now, as stated before, a series of tribes extending intermittently from the Gold Coast to German Southwest Africa possess paternal totemic social units on the one hand, and, on the other, exogamous maternal non-totemic ones. In another series of tribes extending from the Nandi to the Bechuana, as well as among some tribes of the northern Congo area, the totemic unit is wider than the exogamous kinship group. Now, the totemism in both cases may have been brought by the same people, the differences being due to the cultures of the peoples with whom the totemic tribes amalgamated. The question remains: Who were the people who brought totemism? If the original cultural layer is assumed to have been characterized by paternal descent, exogamy, and totemism, then the extension of the totemic unit beyond the exogamous one cannot be accounted for. Hence, the author assumes that the original indigenous cultural layer had the non-totemic exogamous gens, upon which was superimposed the totemism brought by another people. Now, the peoples from the Nandi southward all have a Hamitic strain added to the original Negro population. Hence the Hamites must have been the carriers of totemism. Assuming this to be so, then the totemism of ancient Egypt, if indeed it existed, must also have been of Hamitic origin; for contact with Negroes, who might otherwise have been regarded as responsible for Egyptian totemism, does not seem to antedate the year 2,500 B.C.

The author concludes these speculations with the remark:

Unfortunately the entire construction is hypothetical and does not allow of proof. Hence we must be satisfied to regard it as conjectural, and perhaps as an incentive to further research. Meanwhile the problem as to the age of totemism in Africa will remain unsolved. We must look for traces of totemism among Hamitic peoples (*sic!*); particularly desirable would be more definite data on the Fulbe, who are supposed to be totemic (p. 178).

It will thus be seen that the author's dogmatism is of a mild variety. This non-aggressiveness discourages severe criticism. He even goes so

¹ In one other instance the author uses this concept of blood-relationship with the totem in a methodologically unjustifiable way. Whether totemism did or did not exist in ancient Egypt, may remain uncertain, but its presence cannot be denied on the sole ground that no belief is recorded in relationship with or descent from the totem (p. 172).

far as to follow up his theory with a reminder that the totemic culture of Africa reveals a set of striking similarities to the so-called West Papuan or Totemic culture of Oceania. The assumption of a genetic relationship between these two cultures would hardly be reconcilable with the theory of the Hamitic origin of African totemism. The author is therefore willing to admit that

for the present we must assume that totemism is an indigenous Negro institution, while attempting to find another explanation for the peculiarities of the Nandi and other similar systems (p. 178).

All this notwithstanding the author's Hamitic theory of African totemism must be classed as another example of the diffusion dogma of the Graebnerian type. Why assume that the presence of maternal and paternal descent in one tribe must be due to "the mixture of peoples"? What is the proof that primal totemism was paternal and local, and that the typical distribution of totemic clans over many local groups was again due to "the mixture of peoples"? Why posit one particular culture as the carrier of totemism, and why identify that culture with one people? To all these queries the critical ethnologist has but one answer.

Before closing I should like to express the regret that the author should not have supplemented his exhaustive and highly instructive study of the distribution and character of totemic features in Africa with an intensive study of a number of integral totemic complexes and another comparative one of the relation of totemism in Africa to religious societies. The material for such investigations is now available, and not until they are carried out may we hope to reach a deeper comprehension of the significance and specific peculiarities of African totemism.

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PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Indian-White Amalgamation. An Anthropometric Study. ALBERT ERNEST JENKS. (Bulletin of the University of Minnesota, Studies in the Social Sciences, No. 6, Minneapolis, 1916), vi, 24 pp., 17 tables. 6 plates (including one of graphical illustrations of measurements).

Supposed irregularities in the sale of certain lands on the White Earth Reservation, Minnesota, allotted originally to mixed-blood Indians by the Government which, in 1906-1907 authorized them to sell those lands, occasioned the present investigations. Being called upon by the attorney for the defendants to determine the blood status by anthropometric methods, when Indian testimony as to genealogical data of the originals fellers did not prove very trustworthy, the author visited